

Message Text

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TO USDEL SECRETARY PRIORITY

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FOR THE SECRETARY FROM EAGLEBURGER

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OGEN

SUBJECT: VICE PRESIDENT'S PLATFORM COMMITTEE STATEMENT

1. FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF ROCKEFELLER'S STATEMENT BEFORE THE PLATFORM COMMITTEE GIVEN ON MONDAY, AUGUST 9.
2. BEGIN TEXT. WHEN GERALD R. FORD TOOK OFFICE AS PRESIDENT, HE FACED A SITUATION UNPRECEDENTED IN THE ANNALS OF AMERICAN LEADERSHIP: DISILLUSIONMENT, CYNICISM AND EVEN FEARS ABOUT THE FUTURE OF OUR GOVERNMENT AT HOME; WORLDWIDE INFLATION, RECESSION AND GROWING UNEMPLOYMENT; AND UNCERTAINTY ABOUT THE WILL OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND THE RELIABILITY OF A POLITICALLY-DIVIDED U.S. GOVERNMENT TO FULFILL ITS COMMITMENTS IN THE WORLD.
3. THE PROBLEMS OF THE NEW PRESIDENT, OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, OF THE WORLD, WERE COMPOUNDED IN QUICK SUCCESSION BY THE OIL EMBARGO, THE QUADRUPLING OF OIL PRICES, AND CROP FAILURES IN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE DEVELOPING WORLD.

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4. MANY PREDICTED THAT THE INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO COPE WITH THE DISRUPTIONS PRODUCED BY THESE NEW FORCES.
5. MANY GLOOMILY FORESAW THE DEVELOPMENT OF DIVISIONS

AND RIVALRIES AMONG THESE INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES THAT COULD ONLY END IN RUINOUS AND UNCONTROLLED ECONOMIC WARFARE FOR RAW MATERIALS AND MARKETS--WHICH WOULD MARK THE BEGINNING OF THE END OF THE ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL STRUCTURES OF FREE PEOPLES. THESE DIRE PREDICTIONS PROVED TO BE TOTALLY WRONG.

6. UNDER THE COURAGEOUS AND STABLE LEADERSHIP OF PRESIDENT FORD, WE HAVE DEALT WITH THESE PROBLEMS AT HOME. AND THROUGH THE PRESIDENT'S TRANSLATION OF BASIC DOMESTIC POLICIES INTO BRILLIANT INTERNATIONAL INITIATIVES BY SECRETARY KISSINGER, WE HAVE LED THE WAY TO A UNITED EFFORT OF THE INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES IN THE FIELDS OF ENERGY AND FINANCE AND WE HAVE PLAYED A LEADING ROLE IN DEVELOPING COMMON OBJECTIVES AND ACTION IN STIMULATING FOOD PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION.

7. THE RESULT OF PRESIDENT FORD'S LEADERSHIP HAS BEEN THAT, IN THE SHORT PERIOD OF TWO YEARS, THE WHOLE WORLD SCENE WAS CHANGED: 1. CONFIDENCE WAS RESTORED AT HOME; 2. INFLATION WAS BROUGHT UNDER CONTROL; 3. PRODUCTIVITY AND EMPLOYMENT ARE BEING RESTORED THROUGHOUT THE INDUSTRIAL WORLD; 4. THERE IS RENEWED INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AND MUTUAL RESPECT.

8. MOST IMPORTANT OF ALL TO THE FREE WORLD, THERE IS RENEWED CONFIDENCE THAT THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES HAVE THE WILL AND THE DETERMINATION TO STAND FIRM, TO REGAIN THEIR MORAL AND ECONOMIC LEADERSHIP.

9. THIS REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION HAS CONVINCED THE LEADERS OF THE WORLD THAT IT INTENDS TO REBUILD AND SUSTAIN THE STRENGTH OF AMERICA. IT HAS SHOWN THE WORLD THAT OUR PURPOSE IS NOT ONLY TO SERVE THE NEEDS OF AMERICANS, NOT ONLY TO DEFEND THE FREEDOM AND SECURITY OF COUNTRY, BUT TO FOSTER THROUGHOUT THE WORLD THE FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

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OF FREEDOM, HUMAN DIGNITY AND EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL. FOR WE HAVE AN ADMINISTRATION WHICH RECOGNIZES THAT WE CANNOT ENJOY THE FRUITS OF OUR PRECIOUS AND HARD-FOUGHT-FOR HERITAGE OF FREEDOM AND OPPORTUNITY UNLESS WE WORK WITH OTHERS IN A COMMON EFFORT TO SUPPORT AND PRESERVE FREEDOM AND OPPORTUNITY FOR THE PEOPLES OF OTHER LANDS.

10. INTERRELATIONSHIP OF DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY

11. MOST AMERICANS HAVE CONSIDERED FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO BE REMOTE FROM THEIR DAILY LIVES, AND EXCEPT WHEN WAR INTERRUDED, NOT TO INVOLVE THEIR PARTICULAR LIVING NOR TO IMPACT UPON THEIR FUTURE WELL-BEING. ONE CAN ASCRIBE REASONS FOR THIS ATTITUDE -- THE VAST DISTANCES OF THE UNITED

STATES FROM MOST OF THE REST OF THE WORLD, THE ENORMOUS DOMESTIC MARKET FOR GOODS RIGHT HERE AT HOME, TO MENTION BUT TWO.

12. HOWEVER, THE FACT IS THAT OUR FOREIGN POLICY CANNOT BE SOMETHING APART FROM OUR DOMESTIC POLICY. EACH HAS SIGNIFICANT IMPACT UPON THE OTHER. AN EXAMPLE WOULD BE THE INTERLOCKING INFLUENCES ON EACH OTHER OF OUR DOMESTIC AGRICULTURE, FOOD EXPORT, PETROLEUM IMPORT, AND MIDDLE EASTERN DIPLOMATIC POLICIES.

13. FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, THE ESSENTIAL TASK IS TO DETERMINE WHAT SERVES THEIR OWN ENLIGHTENED SELF-INTEREST IN FOREIGN POLICY. AND THIS, SINCE FOREIGN POLICY HAS TO BE AN EXTENSION OF DOMESTIC POLICY, MUST HAVE ITS ROOTS RIGHT HERE AT HOME. MERE RHETORIC, NO MATTER HOW LOFTY, IS NO SUBSTITUTE FOR PRACTICAL KNOWLEDGEABLE ACTION DESIGNED TO MEET SPECIFIC NEEDS OR ATTAIN DEFINITE OBJECTIVES OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

14. THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT AMERICANS ARE NOT MOTIVATED OR SHOULD NOT BE MOTIVATED BY BROAD HUMANITARIAN CONCERNS, BY MORAL AND SPIRITUAL PRECEPTS. OUR NATION WAS FOUNDED ON MORAL PRINCIPLES AND WE WILL ENDURE ONLY IF WE LIVE BY THEM. BUT AMERICANS MUST SEE EVENTS IN THEIR TRUE LIGHT AND NOT PERMIT EMOTIONALISM TO SUBSTITUTE FOR MORAL JUDGMENT.

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15. IN THIS ELECTION YEAR, LET US AIR THE MAJOR ISSUES OF FOREIGN POLICY. LET US LOOK AT THE RECORD, EXAMINE THE FACTS AND ARGUE THE ALTERNATIVES. THE FORD REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION HAS DEALT WITH FOREIGN POLICY WITH A DEEP UNDERSTANDING OF THE FACTS AND A SENSITIVE PERCEPTION OF THE EXCEEDINGLY COMPLEX INTERRELATIONSHIPS INVOLVED.

16. AND AS WE LOOK TO THE FUTURE, I BELIEVE A GLOBAL APPROACH TO AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY SHOULD BE FIRMLY BASED ON THE FOLLOWING ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS: 1. FOSTERING ECONOMIC GROWTH AT HOME; 2. ENCOURAGING ECONOMIC GROWTH ABROAD; 3. ASSURING ACCESS TO RAW MATERIALS AND CAPITAL; SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY; MANAGEMENT AND MARKETS; 4. SAFEGUARDING FREEDOM OF THE SEAS; 5. MAINTAINING A SUFFICIENCY OF AMERICAN MILITARY POWER AND INTELLIGENCE CAPABILITIES; 6. DEVELOPING A CLOSER PARTNERSHIP OF THE INDEPENDENT NATIONS; 7. IDENTIFYING WITH THE PROGRESS AND SELF-REALIZATION OF ALL PEOPLES; 8. PROMOTING A MORE OPEN WORLD; 9. BUILDING COMMUNICATIONS AND MORE CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONS WITH POTENTIAL ADVERSARIES; 10. REINFORCING PRESIDENTIAL LEADERSHIP IN THE CONDUCT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS; AND 11. SUSTAINING THE AMERICAN WILL TO LEAD.

17. THE HARD REALITIES WE FACE.

18. IF A DEMOCRACY IS TO SURVIVE, ITS PEOPLE MUST BE AWARE OF THE HARD REALITIES OF THE WORLD IN WHICH WE LIVE. TODAY THE UNITED STATES FACES A WORLD SITUATION -- UNIQUE IN ITS HISTORY AND MORE DIRECTLY CRITICAL THAN HERETOFORE. AMERICA'S GEOGRAPHIC ISOLATION HAS DISAPPEARED WITH THE ADVANCE OF MODERN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY -- THERE ARE NO BUFFERS TODAY COMPARABLE TO THE BRITISH AND FRENCH NAVAL AND MILITARY FORCES OF YESTERYEAR. THE UNITED STATES, INSTEAD, FINDS ITSELF ON THE FRONT LINES THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

19. THE STEADY GROWTH OF SOVIET MILITARY POWER -- IN ITS WIDE-RANGING NUCLEAR CAPACITY, ITS MASSIVE ARMIES, ITS INCREASINGLY VERSATILE AIRFORCE, ITS VAST MISSILE CAPABILITY AND ITS WORLDWIDE NAVY -- CONSTITUTE A FORMIDABLE UNCLASSIFIED

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AND GROWING CHALLENGE. AND TO THIS IS NOW BEING ADDED A NEW DIMENSION OF SOPHISTICATED SATELLITES AND SENSORS, WITH A DIVERSE RANGE OF MISSIONS. THE SOVIET MILITARY EFFORT IS BACKED BY A MAJOR MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX WITH PRIORITY CALL ON MANPOWER AND RESOURCES. IT CAN DRAW NOT ONLY MATERIAL RESOURCES FROM THE SOVIET BLOC BUT IN ADDITION, AS ANGOLA HAS SHOWN, IT CAN DRAW ON COLONIAL TROOPS NOW AS WELL.

20. THE RUSSIAN THRUST FOR EXPANSION -- INDEED, FOR A WORLD HEGEMONY -- IS NO SECRET. THE SOVIETS ARE SUPPORTING THIS THRUST ON A WORLDWIDE BASIS THROUGH BRIBERY, BLACKMAIL AND BUGGING, THROUGH INFILTRATION, SUBVERSION AND POLITICAL ACTIVITY, THROUGH ESPIONAGE AND GUERRILLA ACTIVITIES, AND THROUGH SUPPORTING SO-CALLED "WARS OF LIBERATION," ECONOMIC PRESSURES, INTIMIDATION AND OUTRIGHT MILITARY INTERVENTION.

21. SOVIET DEFENSE PROGRAMS HAVE EXCEEDED OURS IN DOLLAR COSTS FOR EVERY YEAR OF THE 1970'S THEY WERE 40 PERCENT HIGHER THAN OURS, OVERALL, IN 1975; EXCEEDING OURS IN INVESTMENT BY 85 PERCENT; IN OPERATING COSTS BY 25 PERCENT; AND IN RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT BY 66 PERCENT.

22. ASSUMING THE CONTINUATION OF THESE CURRENT SOVIET TRENDS IN MILITARY EXPENDITURES; AND IF THERE IS NOT AN APPROPRIATE RESPONSE ON OUR PART; THEN, THROUGH A COMBINATION OF THE RESULTING QUALITATIVE IMPROVEMENT IN THEIR WEAPONS TECHNOLOGY AND THEIR QUANTITATIVE SUPERIORITY, THE SOVIET UNION COULD ACHIEVE WORLD-WIDE MILITARY DOMINANCE IN THE 1980'S.

23. FORTUNATELY, THE LONG DECLINE OF OUR DEFENSE SPENDING HAS FINALLY BEEN CHECKED BY PRESIDENT FORD AFTER DEMOCRATIC

CONGRESSES HAVE CUT A TOTAL OF \$40 BILLION FROM ADMINISTRATION REQUESTS DURING THE PAST EIGHT YEARS.

24. FOR THE UNITED STATES, WE NEED A NATIONAL DEFENSE EFFORT BASED ON EXPANDED MILITARY RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT, CONTINUED WILLINGNESS TO INNOVATE IN THE DEVELOPMENT AND ADOPTION OF STRATEGIC CONCEPTS, AND ADEQUATE PRODUCTION OF THE NECESSARY MILITARY EQUIPMENT TO SUPPORT THE REQUIRED
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FORCES.

25. SUFFICIENT STRENGTH MUST BE AT HAND, OR BE DEVELOPED, TO PRESERVE THE FREEDOM OF THE SEA LANES, TO ENSURE THAT NEITHER DIRECTLY BY MILITARY ACTION, NOR INDIRECTLY THROUGH INFILTRATION, SUBVERSION OR BLACKMAIL, CAN THE INDEPENDENT NATIONS BE PICKED OFF ONE-BY-ONE, DOMINATED OR OVERWHELMED.

26. THIS REQUIRES THAT THE UNITED STATES AND THE OTHER INDEPENDENT NATIONS MAINTAIN A MILITARY CAPACITY AND PRESENCE THAT CAN COUNTERBALANCE THAT OF THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS SATELLITES. IT MEANS ALSO WORKING WITH OUR NATO ALLIES AND WITH NATIONS IN OTHER AREAS OF THE WORLD TO ADD TO THIS STRENGTH. IT MEANS ENCOURAGING CONTINUED ECONOMIC GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT THROUGHOUT THE WORLD TO HELP OTHER PEOPLES MEET THEIR NEEDS AND ASPIRATIONS, AND IT MEANS HAVING THE INDUSTRIAL CAPACITY AND STRENGTH TO SUPPORT THE NECESSARY MILITARY AND STRATEGIC ELEMENTS.

27. CONCLUSION.

28. IN CONCLUSION THERE IS ONE IMPERATIVE FOR OUR NATION'S SECURITY AND WELL BEING THAT MUST BE MENTIONED. NO NATION IS STRONGER IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS THAN IT IS AT HOME. AND NO NATION CAN BE STRONG AT HOME WITHOUT CONFIDENCE IN ITS PURPOSES, AND THE ENERGY AND WILL TO PURSUE THOSE PURPOSES WITH STEADFASTNESS AND VIGOR.

29. FOR THIS, OUR PEOPLE MUST UNDERSTAND THE ISSUES AND BE UNITED IN THEIR BASIC GOALS: FOR A NATION AND WORLD GROWING IN ITS CAPACITY TO MEET THE NEEDS AND ASPIRATIONS OF PEOPLE; FOR A NATION SECURE AND EFFECTIVE IN ITS RELATIONS WITH THE REST OF THE WORLD. IT IS TIME TO TAKE A PROPER PRIDE IN THE VERY REAL VALUES AND TO RENEW OUR FAITH IN THE STRENGTHS OF OUR NATION AND OUR BASIC INSTITUTIONS.

30. THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM SHOULD PROCLAIM THAT WE AS A PEOPLE, IN OUR VALUES AND FREEDOM, IN OUR RESPECT FOR INDIVIDUAL DIGNITY, ARE THE MOST SUCCESSFUL SOCIETY IN EVERY WAY THAT THE WORLD HAS EVER KNOWN.

31. WE HAVE EVERY REASON TO BE PROUD OF OUR COUNTRY, TO
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HAVE FAITH AND BELIEF IN OURSELVES, TO HAVE CONFIDENCE
IN OUR FUTURE. THIS CAN BE THE MOST EXCITING MOMENT IN
OUR HISTORY. WE NEED TO CONTINUE THE REPUBLICAN LEADER-
SHIP THAT HAS THE VISION, THE WISDOM AND THE COURAGE TO
GRASP IT. END TEXT. ROBINSON

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